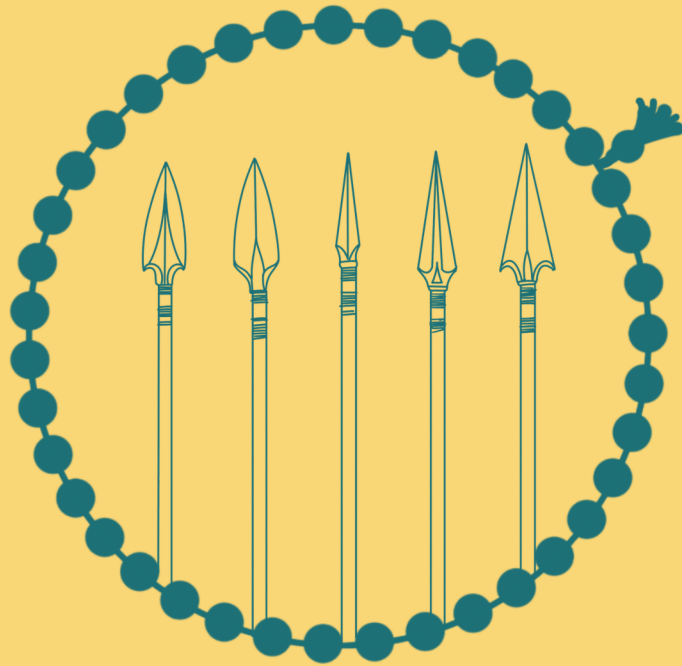


Khalistan

Vision, Legacy & Future
(Policy Document)



29 April 2026

Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa ❖ Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh

This policy document is being issued from Sri Akaal Takht Sahib on
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ISSUING JATHAY



PANCH PARDHANI JATHA



AKAL FEDERATION



SHIROMANI AKALI DAL (AMRITSAR)



JATHEDAR JAGTAR SINGH HAWARA COMMITTEE



DAL KHALSA

Sri Akaal Ji Sahai

On April 29, 2026, on the 40th anniversary of the Khalistan Declaration, we bow our heads in reverence to the *shahadat* (martyrdom), sacrifice, and battlefield valour of thousands of fearless Singhs, *Bibian*, and *Bhujhangian*, and we firmly reiterate our commitment to continue the ongoing Panthic *dharam yudh* being fought to achieve the political objective of an independent Khalistan.¹

As servants of the Guru Khalsa Panth and soldiers of this liberation struggle, we offer our *ardaas* before Satguru Nanak, the True Sovereign, that we may be blessed with the *sojhi* (understanding), *samrathbha* (capacity), *sirarr* (resolve), and the principled unity required to walk steadfastly on the path of this Panthic *dharam yudh*.

The entire world is passing through a period of tumult and volatility. Trade wars, military conflicts, technological battles, and struggles over narrative are driving profound transformations in global political and economic systems.

In efforts to solidify India as a constitutional Hindu state as imagined by Hindutva, massive institutional and legal changes are being implemented while repressive structures are being deployed to erase distinct cultures and identities. At the same time, the Bippar-led Indian imperial project is carrying out coordinated strategic campaigns to discredit Sikh institutions and fragment Sikh leadership. As a result, Sikhs are confronting both covert and overt forms of complex attacks.

At such a decisive juncture, it is imperative that discussions around Sikh politics do not remain confined to electoral calculations or political maneuvering aimed at securing borrowed power (*i.e. subedari*). Rather, we must engage in serious introspection about our leadership structures in the context of our liberation struggle, formulate a collective strategy to advance toward sovereignty, and deliberate on how we will proactively shape our destiny on our own terms. The decisions we take today will echo far into the future, just as the consequences of decisions made before 1947 continue to unfold before us today.

¹ The Khalistan Declaration was signed on 29 April 1986 by the five-member Panthic Committee that had been appointed by the Sarbat Khalsa—Bhai Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Bhai Gurdev Singh Usmanwala, Bhai Aroor Singh, Bhai Dhanna Singh, and Bhai Wassan Singh Zaffarwal.

Remembering Those Who Carried the Liberation Struggle Forward

We offer our homage to Shaheed Bhai Fauja Singh Jee and all the *shabeeds* of the 1978 Vaisakhi massacre, who attained martyrdom while resisting the attacks carried out against Shabad Guru by *debdharis* under the patronage of the Bippar Indian state.

We bow in reverence to the warriors who, under the leadership of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale, fought against the invading army during June 1984 and attained *shahadat* in battle at Sachkhand Sri Harmandir Sahib, Sri Akaal Takht Sahib, and Gurdwara Sahibs across Punjab and other ancestral Sikh regions, along with all other *shabeeds* of the *Theeja Ghallughara*.

Throughout the liberation struggle following the June 1984 *Ghallughara*, the *shahadat* of countless Singhs and *Bibian*, including Bhai Beant Singh Maloa, Bhai Satwant Singh, Bhai Kehar Singh, Bhai Harjinder Singh Jinda, Bhai Sukhdev Singh Sukha, and Bhai Dilawar Singh Babbar manifested the pinnacle of *Gurmat naitikta* (ethics) in this age of materialism through their selfless *seva* and struggle. These sacrifices will continue to inspire present and future generations toward virtue, righteous action, and *dharam yudh*.

We pay tribute with deep respect to the *jujharoo* Singhs and *Bibian*, and their families, those who sheltered them, their supporters, and the elders, women, and children who, under the violent repression of the Bippar Indian state, endured unspeakable and unbearable torture in detention centers across the region.

We offer heartfelt respect to the *jujharoo jathay*, their generals, and the overground organizations who, through their actions in this struggle, rejuvenated a new era of history in the tradition of the Khalsa.

We bow to the steadfast resolve of all imprisoned Singhs and *Bibian* who have remained incarcerated for decades in the course of this liberation struggle, and we offer *ardaas* for their release and to ensure that their Sikh faith and *kes* are maintained until their last breath.

We pay tribute to the exiled *jujharoos* and political activists who continued to carry this *dharam yudh* forward over the past four decades, as well as all who contributed their *dasvandh*.

We hold deep respect for the collective efforts of human rights defenders and lawyers.

We also hold deep respect for all those individuals who, in opposition to the *Theeja Ghallughara* and the Sikh genocide, resigned from state positions, returned honours, and raised their voices against the oppression of the Bippar Indian state.

We further express sincere respect for the efforts of those who challenged official narratives and worked to carry forward the memory and legacy of the *shabeeds* to future generations, through publications, advocacy platforms, research institutions, and other initiatives.

Foundational Commitments and Principles of the April 29, 1986 Khalistan Declaration

The Khalistan Declaration issued on April 29, 1986, by the five-member Panthic Committee selected during the Sarbat Khalsa of January 26, 1986, represents a significant milestone in the centuries-long historical continuity (tradition) of the Guru Khalsa Panth's institution of *patshahi* and the ongoing Panthic *dharam yudh*. We reiterate the foundational commitments and principles of this declaration with the entire *sangat*:

“Sikh *sangat*, in their daily *ardaas*, repeat the resolve of ‘*Raj Karega Khalsa*,’ and today, through the boundless grace of the Guru, that resolve is being actualized in the form of ‘Khalistan.’”

“The policy of Khalistan shall, in accordance with the Guru's will, seek *sarbat da bhala*, promote a positive cultural life, and foster the spirit of shared unity and cooperation.”

“The intention of the Khalsa Panth is to accomplish its mission through love and compassion, with the Guru's grace. Our political program is based on the principle of: “*na ko bairee, nahi begana; sagal sang ham ko ban aae*.” We do not support upheaval or the unnecessary shedding of blood, and we expect the same from others.”

“The eradication of the Sikh *dharam* is a firm objective of Brahmanism, as Sikh *dharam* stands in opposition to the brutal caste system and the practices upheld by the Bippar order.”

“The present Government of India, firmly following the policy of Shankaracharya, is deploying all political, cultural, economic, administrative, and military means to eliminate Sikh and Sikhs from India (as Shankarcharya did to the Buddhists in the subcontinent).”

It is also worth noting that support for the Panthic objective of Khalistan was not limited to armed *jujharoo* groups alone. Sikh activists and political organizations also affirmed this goal, as demonstrated by the memorandum submitted on April 2, 1992, to the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the Amritsar Declaration of May 1, 1994 which committed to the establishment of a fully sovereign Khalistan.

Key Impacts and Legacy of the Liberation Struggle

The Sarbat Khalsa of January 26, 1986, the Khalistan Declaration of April 29, 1986, the guerrilla actions of Sikh *jujharoos*, and the public mobilization of the wider Gursangat collectively instilled political direction, self-respect, and renewed spirit among Sikhs who had become unsettled, leaderless, and organizationally fragmented due to the emotional and structural impact of the June 1984 *Ghallughara* and the November 1984 Sikh genocide across Bippar India.

The guerrilla struggle, defied the fundamental precepts of guerrilla warfare in the 20th century, sustaining itself in a successful decade-long campaign in Punjab in the absence of jungle or mountain terrain due to the widespread popular support the movement enjoyed.

The cumulative effect of these efforts significantly slowed the process of transforming Bippar India into a constitutional Hindu state and the accompanying drive toward political centralization. The liberation struggle broke the dominance and arrogance of the Bippar Indian state and succeeded, for nearly a decade, in operationalizing the enduring Panthic objective of *Khalsa jee ke bol baale* within Punjab.

The most significant achievement of this period however, was smashing the ideological dominance of materialism over the collective consciousness of the *Gursangat*, and the revival of *Gurmat*-based living. This restored a balanced integration of temporal and spiritual life within the Sikh world while presenting the distinct and sovereign Panthic identity of the Guru Khalsa Panth.

Panthic Objective

On the 40th anniversary of the Khalistan Declaration, we reaffirm our unequivocal Panthic objective:

Our history of the past three centuries, along with our daily ardaas, affirms that the enduring Panthic objective of the Guru Khalsa Panth is to establish and uphold *Khalsa jee ke bol baale*. The source of this political power does not lie in any external system or practice, but in adherence to Panthic and personal *rebit* (discipline) grounded in the Khalsa *jugat* (method/way).

Within the present global political order, our current Panthic objective is the establishment of an independent, fully sovereign state, Khalistan, rooted in the worldview of *Gurmat*. The basis and foundation of Khalistan lies in the grace of *Sache Patshah* (the True Sovereign) and the legacy of the Khalsa's *dharam yudh*.

Khalistan shall include present-day Eastern Punjab along with the adjoining ancestral Sikh regions.

Our liberation struggle is grounded in the *Gurmat* ideals of *sarbat da bhala*, *Begampura*, and *Halemi raj*, to be realized within time-space within this world, and is rooted in the rich legacy of the Guru Khalsa Panth's principles of *Miri-Piri*, *dharam yudh*, and its identity as *Akaal Purakh ki fauj*.

Dharam Yudh: Principle, Strategy, and Leadership

As "*Akaal Purakh ki fauj*," our *dharam yudh* is a struggle fought in a spirit of selflessness.

The primary foundation of the Guru Khalsa Panth's *dharam yudh* is to renew our lived practice, objectives, and struggle in accordance with *Gurmat*, and to reconstruct the social, political, economic, and ecological structures of our world in line with *Gurmat* ideals.

Any worldly force that seeks to dominate the Khalsa Panth or launch an attack upon Guru Granth–Guru Panth in any way will always be confronted by the arms of the *juhharoo* Khalsa. The Khalsa Panth will uproot such forces and establish an order grounded in *sarbat da bhala* with a fierce determination rooted in the principle of “*baagi ja badshah*.”

It is the divine responsibility of the Khalsa Panth to wage *dharam yudh* in order to protect the oppressed, uproot the tyrants, and prevent any violations of divine *bukam* by establishing a society-polity rooted in the ideal of *sarbat da bhala*.

Developing a society of Gurmukhs that would never accept any form of *gulaami* (subjugation/ domination) in any condition alongside a relentless commitment to *sarbat da bhala* is the bedrock of our *dharam yudh* and contains the foundational structures of *Khalsa raj*.

The foundation of our *dharam yudh* is personal-collective *rebit* (discipline), *shastar* (arms), and *kurbani* (sacrifice).

Our *dharam yudh* is eternal. The methods and practices of struggle are themselves understood as the means of realizing our objectives, meaning that the ultimate goal is to be lived in the present through action.

Strategy of Dharam Yudh

For centuries, the Khalsa’s struggle has never been narrowed on sectarian lines but has remained committed to establishing a just society-polity based on *sanjhivalta* and justice. The *juhharoos* and *shabeeds* of the Khalsa have steadfastly opposed all forms of oppression and resisted every attempt to restrict the Khalsa’s *patshahi*.

This struggle is not merely to secure a place within existing structures of power, but to establish a new way of collective existence, grounded in our own epistemology and values.

Rejecting the supremacy of the Indian state, Sikh *juhharoos* revitalized the Khalsa’s own sources of power and defended them through our *peer* (saints ie. arms). Our *shabeeds* demonstrated, through their lived practice, the unity of Akaal *simran* and worldly struggle, rejecting the incomplete (secularized) identities imposed by modernity and instead, centering the Guru Panth as the foundation of life.

As South Asia assumes increasing central importance in the emerging global order, and the violent politics of Hindutva continues to alienate millions across India, the question is no longer whether political transformation will occur in the region, but on what terms and principles it will take place. It is therefore essential that the principles of self-determination and justice form the foundation of the region’s future political structure, so that lasting stability, security, and prosperity can be ensured for all. In this direction, we are committed to building solidarity and cooperation with all oppressed peoples and movements resisting Hindutva-driven Indian imperialism in all its forms, with the understanding that-

our struggle is shared and its victory will also be collective in accordance with the principle of *sarbat da bhala*.

According to the Khalsa tradition, the scope of strategy adopted in our *dharam yudh* is expansive. Guru Gobind Singh Jee declares in Zafarnama: “When all other means have failed, it is righteous to take up the sword.” Within this scope fall diplomatic engagement, political correspondence, public assemblies, outreach tours and campaigns, symbolic actions, advocacy efforts to build support for our objective, protest and resistance demonstrations, political boycotts, civil disobedience, and armed struggle.

Depending on the time, place, capacity, and necessity, Sikhs may adopt any one or all of these strategic initiatives.

Leadership of Dharam Yudh

Within different systems throughout the world, two primary forms of leadership commonly emerge. The first is leadership selected through votes and numerical majority. The second is leadership that arises through struggle, sacrifice, and testing in the field—where the legitimacy of leadership is proven not through claims, but through action and sacrifice.

The leadership of *dharam yudh* cannot be a product of ordinary political systems. It must be rooted in Khalsa values: humility, fearlessness, selfless service, living in accordance with *Gurmat*, and steadfastness in truth. Accordingly, the leadership of our *dharam yudh* can only be that which is born of authentic Khalsa struggle, and whose integrity has been tested through the practice of Gursikhi, service to the *sangat*, and the defense of truth.

Bippar Indian State vs. the Guru Khalsa Panth

THE TRANSFORMATION OF BRITISH INDIA INTO BIPPAR INDIA IN 1947

The transfer of power in 1947 across this vast colonized region has been described as the “freedom” of all territories, peoples, and religious communities in the region. However, the bitter reality is that this transfer of power merely changed the rulers; the colonial project itself did not come to an end in this region.

In 1947, under the leadership of the Indian National Congress, Bippar Indian nationalists made every effort to ensure that governance in this region would pass into their hands after the British, while preserving the structure of the state, its coercive machinery, and its foundational colonial character, such that British India would effectively become Bippar India.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BIPPAR INDIAN STATE

On the basis of the above, we hold the following understanding of the Bippar Indian state that came into existence on August 15, 1947:

The Indian state is simultaneously founded upon the philosophies of so-called modernity and the Manu Simriti.

It is a colonial empire grounded in the supremacy of the state and is simultaneously shaped by Hindutva nationalism and colonial authoritarianism.

It is fanatically sectarian, rooted in Bippar supremacism, and driven by impulses of exclusion and violence—exhibiting clear fascistic tendencies.

In terms of its political structure, it demonstrates authoritarian tendencies; in its administrative structure, it is a centralized, hierarchical bureaucracy; and in its economic system, it functions as a corporate capitalist empire.

From a geopolitical perspective, Bippar India is not a single nation-state, but—consistent with the understanding articulated in the Amritsar Declaration—a colonial empire comprising a forcibly bound subcontinent of multiple nations and peoples.

The Fundamental Basis of the Guru Khalsa Panth's Struggle Against the Bippar Indian State

THE THEORETICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STRUGGLE

The present Hindutva social order is based on the principles of the Manu Simriti, grounded in hierarchies of caste and class, exclusion, and violence. As such, the Bippar social framework rests upon inequality and injustice.

The political doctrine of the current Bippar Indian state is founded upon the philosophy of modernity, which is premised on five core beliefs: the privileging of the temporal plane and rejection of the sacred realms of life; the monopoly of the state over political power and the instruments of war; the unrestricted exploitation of natural resources for human desire; the supremacy of a particular ideology and the imposition of ideological uniformity based on the falsehood of its so-called universality. Its social and political systems are confined to the temporal realm, rooted in empirical knowledge and the primacy of haumai.

In contrast, the *Gurmat* conception of society, *Begampura*, and of polity, *Halemi raj*, are grounded in Guru-centered consciousness and operate simultaneously across both temporal and spiritual realms. At the time of drafting the Constitution in 1950, this distinct *Gurmat* worldview and the sovereign collective Panthic existence of the Guru Khalsa Panth were denied recognition.

Due to the imperial disposition of the Bippar order, and the influences of majoritarian democracy, nationalism, and capitalism, attacks on the distinct and sovereign existence of the Guru Khalsa Panth have only intensified. In response, Sikhs have remained firmly committed to pursuing liberation through just means and struggle since the 1950s, so that we may live with dignity and contribute meaningfully to the course of world history.

To implement the *Gurmat* worldview and to affirm the inherent right of Panthic existence, Sikh struggles since 1849 have been driven by the aspiration of establishing our own *desh-kaal* (worldly polity rooted in a specific time-space) and political authority in order to establish a constitutional order of our own.

Therefore, the conflict between the Bippar Indian state and the Guru Khalsa Panth will persist until the structures based on Bippar practice and modern/Western thought are transformed into systems rooted in *sarbat da bhala*.

Attacks by the Bippar Indian State Over the Past 40 Years: Nature, Impact, and Posture

NATURE AND IMPACT

After 1984, state forces did not limit their violent repression to *jujharoos* alone, but also targeted ordinary youth, elders, women, and children with genocidal violence and unspeakable torture. To instill fear and submission among the population, people were arbitrarily humiliated in villages and on roads, subjected to torture in police stations, bounties were placed on the heads of Sikh *jujharoos*, staged police encounters were carried out, and many were forcibly disappeared without a trace.

From the era of the Mughal empire to the present, the method of Delhi's rule has remained the suppression of every Sikh resurgence through force. However, after 1849, under the British Indian empire, and then after 1947 under the Bippar Indian state, alongside the policy of physical elimination of bodies, a parallel policy was pursued to destroy Sikh thought itself. This was done by weakening and dismantling Sikh institutions capable of providing *Gurmat*-based leadership, and reshaping our social structures so that Sikhs would no longer be able to mount any form of resistance or challenge oppression on their own terms.

Under this approach, *Gurmat* itself was first reinterpreted through the lens of so-called modern (materialist) philosophy. The most damaging consequence of this policy has been the weakening, fragmentation, and disintegration of Sikh institutions and organizations rooted in original *Gurmat*-

systems and practices through the secularization of Sikh politics that severed the holistic interrelation between *dharam* and politics.

This process, which began in 1849, reached a new destructive level in the 1990s.

After 1984, an entire generation of leadership was eliminated, imprisoned, or forced into exile. Following the destruction of this Panthic leadership, an environment was deliberately created in which the expression of aspirations for *Khalsa raj* would be suppressed. As part of a strategy to install compromised leadership over Sikh politics, state-aligned political figures from traditional Akali parties were patronized and imposed on Punjab. These figures played a critical role in suppressing the emergence of genuine Panthic politics through hollow slogans, political theatrics, and state power. Alongside this, a depoliticized Punjabi identity was promoted as a pacified substitute for Sikh political expression rooted in the Khalsa's patshahi.

As part of a strategy to misdirect political consciousness through fabricated narratives, the mid-1990s saw the promotion of themes such as "peace and reconciliation" and "development," in an effort to suppress the spirit of resistance within the Sikh psyche by labelling the liberation struggle as a "dark period" known as the *kala daur*. The self-serving electoral alliance between the Badal faction and the BJP was propagated under the banner of "Hindu-Sikh unity," in order to undermine the credibility of the Sikh struggle grounded in *sarbat da bhala*. During this period, political power and wealth became concentrated in the hands of a few families, giving rise to a new elite political class. This campaign fostered an atmosphere of fear and disillusionment, whereby hegemonic state narratives of "peace" and the "dark period" were forcibly imposed.

Alongside the repression of leaders and supporters of the liberation struggle, efforts were made to discredit the legacy of the struggle itself. Attempts were made to tarnish the image of its objectives, strategies, and leadership, and to obscure the legacy of various *jujharoos* and *shabeeds*. This process continues to the present day and has intensified, particularly through social media psyops (psychological operations).

As part of a strategy to control thought and consciousness, efforts were made at the social level to replace the Panthic identity of the younger generation marked by initiative, discipline, courage, self-respect, and high moral character, with a new, consumerism-driven Punjabi cultural outlook, promoted through so-called *sabhiyacharak mele* (cultural festivals) and communications technologies. With economic liberalization in 1991, this strategy was further intensified. Its objective was to replace Sikh identity and political consciousness with consumerist and nationalist ideologies.

Orchestrated incidents of desecration of Sri Guru Granth Sahib Jee, along with the state-supported expansion of the sociopolitical influence of dera-based figures in Punjab, also formed part of a broader design by the Indian empire to undermine the principle of the Shabad Guru.

After 1991, the illusion of consumerism and economic development disoriented the youth, leading to increased substance abuse, suicides, and widespread migration. These conditions are not merely social changes, but are understood as the outcome of layered counter-insurgency strategies aimed at-

weakening the capacity and character required for resistance.

Attacks on Sikh leadership and Maintaining the Structures of Gulaami

At this decisive moment of history, the Indian state is attempting to weaken the capacity of Sikh leadership to make collective decisions and proactively take action aligned with our own strategic priorities by dividing and fragmenting various Sikh factions.

Under this strategy, a controlled atmosphere of chaos is being created by co-opting and coercing certain figures, while efforts are made to discredit dissenting leaders and, in some cases, eliminate them to generate confusion among the Sikh masses. Through this, attempts are being made to deepen divisions within Sikh groups and create conditions of internal conflict.

Through such manipulation and reconfiguration of leadership, the state's objective is to eliminate independent and autonomous Panthic leadership, and to periodically impose its own proxies as Sikh leaders.

Alongside this, India's defence and intelligence agencies have sought to project their coercive power by initiating a new phase of staged police encounters in Punjab and carrying out acts of transnational repression abroad. The harassment and criminalization of pro-Khalistan figures by foreign governments in the diaspora, including through sanctions and other restrictions, are a result of this strategy. In addition to the use of violence to force social change through "shock and awe" tactics, narratives linking drugs, gang activity, and so-called terrorism are being manufactured while state-affiliated criminal networks are intentionally being deployed in order to create the pretext for violent action against Sikh dissidents, or to target Sikh leadership under the cover of such narratives.

Through these counter-insurgency strategies involving both physical and psychological operations, the state has profoundly impacted the social, political, and economic fabric of Punjab by advancing Hindutva nationalism, consumerism, and the imposition of co-opted Sikh leadership.

The Guru Khalsa's Response to the Indian Onslaught

Although efforts to maintain domination over Sikhs have been forceful and ongoing, they have remained incomplete and only partially successful. Whatever impact these state efforts did have is steadily being diminished through the sacrifices of our *shaheds*.

Throughout this period marked by intense psychological pressure and violence from the state, many prominent and anonymous Sikhs stood firm against the state narrative and challenged it. They themselves became targets of police repression and vilification, yet they did not tire, did not stop,-

did not bow, and remained steadfast. They commemorated the memory of our *shahbeeds*, protected ideological clarity on the concept of Khalistan, and successfully transmitted the legacy of the movement to the next generation.

All of this work was carried out with great resolve, in often quiet ways, and with complete selflessness. These individuals acted in an environment where even speaking about Khalistan was treated by the state as a criminal act. Despite this, through grueling hard work and determination, they preserved the ideological continuity of the struggle. Their contribution in bringing the liberation struggle to its present stage must be remembered.

If today Khalistan is openly discussed in Punjab; if Panthic resurgence is visible across the world; and if open support for Sikh sovereignty is emerging, none of this has occurred spontaneously. It is the result of the sacrifices of the past forty years and the decades of effort by those Singhs and Bibian who did not abandon the struggle even when it was most difficult to uphold and lacked visible mass support. It is they who prepared the ground upon which we now stand, ready for the next phase of the Khalistan movement.

It is through this collective effort of the Khalsa's liberation struggle that India's efforts to repress our *dharam yudh* are being acknowledged in various ways around the world. While the Parliament of Canada observed a moment of silence to honour the *shahadat* of Bhai Hardeep Singh Nijjar, international institutions and bodies like the UN Human Rights Council have identified Bippar India's ongoing global campaign of transnational repression being carried out to target supporters of an independent Khalistan in the diaspora.

Present Situation: Possibilities and Challenges In the Context of the Emerging Global Order

INDIAN CONTEXT

The political changes in India over the past decade have brought the region into a fragile phase. The rise of the BJP in 2014 marked a significant shift. The consolidation of power in the hands of the RSS and BJP has resulted in an acceleration toward the agenda of transforming India into “Akhand Bharat” and a constitutionally defined Hindu state. In pursuit of this objective, efforts are underway to forcibly integrate regions such as Kashmir, Punjab, the southern regions, and the Northeast—areas that have historically resisted the policies of the state. The consequences of this campaign are becoming increasingly severe, with rising tensions within India's internal politics. These tensions are no longer confined to traditional fault lines, but are now also visible among segments previously regarded as strongholds of Indian nationalism. Attempts at centralizing power and imposing cultural uniformity have further intensified movements for regional autonomy, linguistic identity, and self-determination. In this context, the need for mutual support, solidarity, and coordination across different regions has grown significantly.

SOUTH ASIAN CONTEXT

Punjab has now emerged as a focal point of significant geopolitical importance. Developments such as military confrontations between India and Pakistan, and the unilateral suspension of the Indus Waters Treaty, signal a deepening crisis in the region. The tensions between these two nuclear-armed states are not limited to border skirmishes, but carry the potential to drastically impact the land, water, and people of this region.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

At the same time, increasing geopolitical tensions between the United States and China along with large-scale economic projects, have made this region a focal point of great power rivalry. These projects are not merely about infrastructure development, but are instruments for reshaping trade routes and strategic alignments. Any conflict in this region could impact not only local economies but also global trade and political structures. At the global level, the system is becoming increasingly multipolar, where the United States is no longer the sole dominant power. NATO countries and Western states are seeking to expand strategic and economic partnerships with India to counterbalance China's influence. Ongoing trade negotiations between India and Western countries reflect this trend.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR THE PANTH AND PUNJAB

In this context, the position of the Panth and Punjab is becoming increasingly significant within the broader framework of global politics. This is no longer merely a local political conflict, but one that is now connected to global transformations. While these conditions create opportunities, they also give rise to serious challenges and risks. As a result, the need for effective leadership, strong organization, and strategic clarity has become even more critical.

The Significance of Punjab

GEOGRAPHICAL AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Geographically, Punjab is situated at the gateway of a critical strategic corridor in South Asia. The only reliable, year-round land route connecting India to Central Asia and beyond passes through Punjab, increasing its importance in future overland trade arrangements. Key components of India's air defense infrastructure are located in Punjab, and it also serves as a stable route for military movement to the northwestern regions. As a result, any prolonged instability in Punjab would not remain a local issue, but would directly impact India's defense architecture and border security. In this way, Punjab's geographical position places it in a strategically decisive role within the region.

HISTORIC LAND OF A GURMAT-BASED CIVILIZATION

Punjab is not only a region of strategic importance, but also the historic land where a distinct *Gurmat*-based civilization has developed. It has been the ground of the Guru Khalsa Panth's lived practice, and history has shown that Sikh mass mobilization has had the capacity to bring about transformative change. From resistance to the Mughal Empire and British colonizers, on to the anti-Emergency movements of the 1970s, the Dharam Yudh Morcha, and the recent farmers' movement, Sikh leadership has demonstrated the ability to challenge the authority of the Delhi state and to mobilize oppressed communities—something that is viewed as a threat by the ruling establishment.

FERTILE LAND OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Punjab is naturally endowed with abundant water resources, fertile soil, and a favorable climate, making it a central hub of agricultural production across the region. Historically, the Delhi establishment has treated Punjab as a frontier colony, using it to fulfill national security and food supply needs. In the context of changing geopolitical conditions, Punjab has once again emerged as a region of critical importance for the future of South Asia.

As the BJP advances toward its Hindutva objectives, these factors present a strategic challenge for the Indian state. Any political mobilization in Punjab has the potential to impact key economic and defense corridors and alter regional dynamics. It is for this reason that, following the farmers' movement, the state has intensified the reassertion of its coercive apparatus in Punjab.

Khalistan: Principles, Character, and Attributes

GURMAT-BASED GOVERNANCE: OUR COMMITMENT WITH THE COMMUNITIES OF PUNJAB

In Punjab, the Bippar Indian state operates not only as a force against Sikhs, but also as one that suppresses local autonomy while exploiting and contaminating the shared natural resources of all Punjabi communities (including river waters, groundwater, and soil); extracts wealth through economic systems; and sustains the dominance of caste-based hierarchy. Therefore, we understand that our struggle against the Indian state is a shared one. Sikhs are prepared to stand in this collective struggle as the vanguard of all sections of Punjab.

One of the most important aspects of the need to establish Khalistan is the aspiration to create a polity in which, community-based, political, economic, and ecological systems, structures, and practices—both temporal and spiritual—can develop in alignment with the principle of *sarbat da bhala*, so that every individual and human community may realize their full development. Such a system of governance would be capable of actualizing cosmic unity and harmony in accordance with the principle of *Halemi raj* as envisioned by Guru Granth Sahib.

Khalistan is not the name of a narrow political structure that privileges any particular identity; rather, it will be a new political order grounded in the collective liberation of all oppressed peoples.

In accordance with the principle of shared existence (*sanjhivalta*), this state will serve as a means to fulfill the aspirations of all faiths, cultural communities, ethnic identities, social classes, and historically rooted political entities and nations whose principles and ideals may differ from *Gurmat*. Alongside the distinct and sovereign existence of the Khalsa Panth, the independent existence and mutual fraternity of all communities must flourish without obstruction.

In line with the Khalsa principles of *hanne hanne miri* and “*in gareeb sikhan ko deo patshahi*,” political authority will be decentralized. Power will not be confined to a single class or group; rather, it will flow to the most grassroots levels, forming a collective and community-based system of governance.

Khalistan will not be a majoritarian Sikh state; rather, following independence, the distribution of power, wealth, and natural resources will take place among all sections of society in accordance with the *Gurmat* principles of *sarbat da bhala* and *sanjhivalta*.

Within political institutions, representation will not be limited to a uniform, urban, vote-based electoral system. Instead, there will be a system of mixed representation, ensuring that all communities are represented in recognition of various religious, communal, and political identities.

The selection of political representatives will not be confined to a single electoral model for all. Rather, all communities will be recognized as having the right to choose their leaders according to their own accepted systems. For example, the Scheduled Caste community in Punjab will select its own representatives through its internally determined processes, without interference from any other group.

In Khalistan, ideologies rooted in *Manuvaad* will be rejected; however, there will be no place for hatred or discrimination against any Hindu community on the basis of caste or religious belief. In accordance with the *Gurmat* ideals of non-domination, equality, and *sanjhivalta*, justice will be ensured for every individual and all communities.

A new economic order, rooted in *Gurmat* principles, will be established to remove the dominance of traditionally exploitative castes and corporate interests over sources of wealth such as industry, trade, currency, investment, banking, employment, commercial and residential land, and digital infrastructure so that opportunities for economic prosperity can be made available to all. Monopolies will be prohibited.

Agricultural land will not be regarded merely as a means of production, but as a foundation of autonomy. Accordingly, a new policy will be developed to distribute agricultural land among cultivators in line with the principles of *Khalsa raj*.

To ensure the sustainability of society, the provision of basic shared necessities such as food, water, energy, and housing will be considered a fundamental responsibility of the state on an equal basis for all residents.

At present, the state is considered responsible for the uninterrupted management of shared community functions such as education, healthcare, and environmental protection.

To prevent the exploitation of natural resources (water, land, forests, soil, sand, stone, etc.) and to ensure sustainability, new policies will be developed to remove their ownership from present-day heirs of Malik Bhago, so that the interests of labouring and *kirti* communities, who are the heirs of Bhai Lalo, are not harmed.

Infrastructure will be developed for the people of Punjab based on the needs of the people, rather than the needs of the state or corporate interests.

The administrative system will not be a centralized, hierarchical, and authoritarian bureaucracy; instead, governance will be carried out with the active participation and full partnership of society and the public.

To ensure that all residents can live with dignity, it will be a fundamental responsibility to guarantee collective security against all forms of organized coercion, criminal gangs, and exploitative elements—whether state or non-state. At the village level, local populations will be made full participants in civil, criminal, developmental, and justice-related processes.

Political systems deeply shape social behavior. Therefore, in order to establish a just and cooperative society envisioned in *Begampura*, the political system of Khalistan will provide all possible support.

KHALISTAN: AN EXPANSIVE MANIFESTATION OF THE GURDWARA TRADITION AND SELFLESS SERVICE

The responsibilities that the modern state has assumed in the 20th century were already being carried out by Sikh gurdwaras for nearly five centuries. In the form of *langar*, they provided food; through wells, *baolis*, and *sarovars*, they provided water; through serais, they offered lodging and shelter to travelers; through schools, they provided education; through traditional healers and clinics, they offered healthcare; and through the planting of gardens and the maintenance of water bodies, they contributed to ecological stewardship. These functions have been carried out continuously by gurdwaras and Sikh organizations across the world, without discrimination of any kind.

Modern states and corporate entities use these functions as tools to assert control over people, shape human behavior according to state objectives, and generate revenue. In contrast, for Sikhs, the performance of these functions is an expression of selfless service.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF KHALISTAN

Commitment to the ideals of the Khalsa's *patshahi*, *Khalsa jee ke bol baale*, or *Khalsa raj*, does not in any way mean establishing a state solely for the interests of Sikhs. The ideals and history of the Khalsa testify that *Khalsa raj* will not be an ethnic state for Sikhs, nor a mechanism of coercion, nor an empire seeking dominance over others.

The Khalistan struggle is not a product of insecurity aimed merely at preserving identity or existence; rather, it is an essential and timeless expression of the temporal manifestation of the sovereignty bestowed upon the Guru Khalsa Panth by the True Sovereign, Satguru Nanak Sahib.

For centuries, the struggle of the Khalsa has never been a sectarian movement rooted in self-interest or sectarianism. Instead, in every era, the Khalsa's *dharam yudh* has been aimed at actualizing the ideal of *Halemi raj* grounded in shared existence.

The political structure of the Sikhs will not be built upon the logic of dominance by a singular identity or the marginalization of minorities and other communities based on majoritarian citizenship. The foundation of the Sikh political community is the concept of *sangat*. By its very nature, the concept of *sangat* ensures that participation in the Sikh political community is not based on a nation-centered, ego-driven "collective I/we," but rather on a diverse and coexisting reality of the entire *kainaat* (universe/creation).

Gurmat-based community, political, and economic structures function in harmony with nature and prioritize *sarbat da bhala* for the flourishing of diverse communities and faith traditions.

Thus, within this legacy, the ongoing *dharam yudh* for Khalistan represents the manifestation of the eternal sovereignty bestowed by the Guru within a specific time and space. This is a struggle to establish an independent society-polity in accordance with *Gurmat* ideals and has emerged through history as a revolutionary resistance aimed at dismantling the existing structure of the Bippar Indian state, capitalist exploitation, and caste-based domination in order to advance the liberation of all oppressed peoples of the region.

Policy Directions for Future Steps

On this historic day, we are putting these policy directions before the Guru Khalsa Panth and *Gursangat*:

1. *We consider the 1947 partition of this region of South Asia by the British based on the two-nation theory of Hindus and Muslims to be the root of the problem. In line with the spirit articulated in the Khalistan and Amritsar Declarations, we regard this region as a diverse space comprising multiple faiths, belief systems, cultures, nations, ethnicities, and historically rooted polities. Accordingly, we consider it necessary to reconfigure this region in its entirety so that its diverse communities may fully realize their self-determination.*
2. *In the April 29, 1986 Declaration, the five-member Panthic Committee called upon "all governments of the world, particularly the USA, England, Pakistan, China, Canada, West Germany, Warsaw Pact countries, Italy, France, Japan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Ecuador," as well as the United Nations and all its member states, to recognize Khalistan. In continuation of this, efforts to ensure global recognition of an independent Khalistan through engagement with movements and governments of various countries and international organizations will be institutionalized.*

3. *To present the ideals and moral principles of an independent Khalistan before the international community with clarity and conviction, permanent mechanisms will be developed to strengthen relations and cooperation with other peoples engaged in struggle, supportive governments, and other international institutions.*
4. *To publicly identify those responsible for atrocities committed by the Bippar Indian state, institutional mechanisms will be developed for documenting human rights violations and the exploitation of natural resources in Punjab by collecting, preserving, and advancing this evidence at the international level.*
5. *A comprehensive document outlining the foundational systems for the constitution and governance of an independent Khalistan shall be prepared.*
6. *Clear strategic guidelines shall be developed and issued as a document to strengthen collective and shared Panthic power.*
7. *A structured system shall be developed for regular dialogue with the global Gursangat and the diverse communities of Punjab to deliberate on shared challenges and opportunities.*
8. *A system shall be established for internal review and reflection on the past and present practices of the liberation struggle.*
9. *In the present period of instability, a collective and community-based platform of leadership shall be established for Khalistan in accordance with the principles of panch pradhani leadership and gurmatta-based decision-making, to uphold fidelity to the leadership of the sangat and collective decision-making, while preserving the autonomous identity of each jatha.*
10. *Efforts shall be made to revive the internal organizational structures of the Gursangat in accordance with traditional Khalsa methods, in order to effectively organize the Guru Khalsa Panth.*
11. *To cultivate appropriate leadership for the liberation struggle and shape Panthic character within the broader Gursangat, Panthic institutions, and jathas, Sikh organizations and institutions shall promote a way of life grounded in personal and Panthic rehit (discipline).*
12. *To develop the independent sovereignty of the Khalsa beyond the constitutional framework of the Bippar Indian state, and to advance the enduring Panthic objective of Khalsa jee ke bol baale, active, locally rooted, autonomous jathas of naujawan and the Gursangat shall be organized at the grassroots level in accordance with the principle of Miri-Piri.*
13. *To challenge the dominance of materialist and statist philosophies over our thought and consciousness, educational systems shall be developed by renewing Gurmat knowledge traditions and institutions, thereby strengthening Panthic consciousness and ideological clarity.*
15. *Institutional efforts shall be undertaken at a global level to develop and promote an understanding of a Gurmat-based worldview.*

Appendix

IDEALS, PRINCIPLES, AND FOUNDATIONS OF THE KHALSA'S DHARAM YUDH

Sources of Ideals, Principles, and Foundations

There are two fundamental sources of ideals and principles. Satguru Sri Amar Das Jee, the True Sovereign, declares: “*Liv dhaat dui raah hai.*”

Two paths lay before us. One is the path of *liv*—the path of *deen/dharam* (faith/justice); the other is the path of *dhaat*—the path of the worldly (material). The path of *deen*, that is, the *Gurmat* path, is grounded in the sovereignty of *Akaal Purakh* and in the divine harmony of nature governed by *hukam*. This path is situated within the context of Gurbani, *Gur-sakhi*, and Khalsa tradition.

The path of the worldly is based upon the supremacy of intellect derived from human sensory (empirical) knowledge. The concepts of this path have been articulated by various thinkers; Bippar ideology and modernity are both two expressions of same approach.

Foundational Principle: Sarbat Da Bhala

By *sarbat*, we do not refer only to humanity, but to the entirety of *Akaal Purakh's kainaats* (creation/universe)—human beings, all living beings, plant life, and natural elements such as air, water, earth, and sky. *Sarbat da bhala* signifies a condition of shared existence within society, where the distinct existence of every element of creation is sustained in natural balance and harmony.

As *Akaal Purakh* permeates all of creation, the ultimate sovereignty of *Akaal Purakh* is vested in all elements of creation collectively. The fundamental principle of this is that any political structure must commit itself to ensuring that all elements of the universe harmoniously coexist and cooperate to exercise this collective sovereignty. No single entity has the authority to exercise absolute power or domination over any other part of the *kainaats* (universe/creation). The only legitimate polity worthy of recognition is therefore one which governs to serve *Akaal Purakh's* sovereignty on the basis of *sarbat da bhala*.

The ideal of *sarbat da bhala* is inseparable from the well-being and justice of all parts of creation. The personal *rebit* (discipline) and *naam bani da abhiyaas* that is earned in the *Gurmukh's* private life takes the form of *sangram* (struggle) for *sarbat da bhala* and *Halemi raj* when it manifests in a collective (Panthic) form.

This commitment is not limited to a depoliticized vision of charity or apolitical seva. Instead, it instills a responsibility to serve all elements of the *kainaats* (universe/creation) and uproot oppressive powers that violate the sanctity of *Akaal's* creation. This is not possible without establishing just social and political structures under the leadership of the Khalsa.

Sarbat da Bhala and the Role of the Guru Khalsa Panth

In the political sphere, empires and nation-states, and in the social-religious sphere, *Manuvaad*, are all expressions of Bippar practice (sensory/empirical knowledge rooted in ego). As oppressive forces, both continue to subjugate the marginalized populations of this region. The Khalsa Panth's guiding principle is to protect the weak and destroy the tyrants. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the Khalsa Panth to stand with the marginalized and to play a leading role in the struggle for *sarbat da bhala*.

It is necessary to understand the policy-oriented potential of the Khalsa Panth's role in this region. At the same time, in carrying out this role, it is equally important to maintain a clear understanding of diverse religious and cultural differences.

The Principle of Duality

Gurmukhs overcome the illusion of duality and understand there is no "other" outside of the self, as our *Kartar* (Creator) is *rammia boia* (permeating) in all of *kainaat*. When *Gurmukhs* remove the veil of falsehood (shed their Ego), they recognize the unending flow of *ik oankaar* and the cosmic divinity vibrating in each particle of creation.

Therefore, to honour and preserve the divinity of all of Akaal's creation is in itself serving our *karta* (*seva*)—a form of *bhagti* (devotion/remembrance) to erode our egoist self and merge into Akaal. *Seva* and *simran*, are therefore not private or apolitical "religious" acts. These foundational practices are inseparable from our *dharam yudh* and only different modes of *Pooja Akaal Ki* (worship of Akaal).

Gurmat Principle of Society: Begampura

A society established on the ideal of *sarbat da bhala* is described in Sri Guru Granth Sahib as *Begampura*. The defining characteristics of such a society are understood to be grounded in love and shared existence, fearlessness and non-enmity; it is Akaal-centered, free from anxiety, free from economic oppression, free from punitive systems, marked by perpetual well-being, endowed with enduring autonomy, based on equality, inhabited by contented and virtuous citizens, free from caste hierarchy, and sustained through mutual friendship and love.

Sache Patshah has entrusted the Khalsa Panth with the sacred duty of striving to make this world just in the form of *Begampura*.

Begampura, as envisioned through *Gurmat*, is not a utopian abstraction but a natural social order that emerges when Akaal's infinite flow throughout the entire *kainaat* is consciously realized as the governing principle of collective life. This vision of *Begampura* not only rejects any form of hierarchy or domination of one class, identity, or group over another but also any form of absolute power over *kainaat* itself. In this sense, authority is dispersed through the *sangat* to the grassroots to ensure inherent autonomy all the way to the most basic level.

Here, material sustenance and prosperity are not measured by the scales of production, “development” or expansion. Instead of these destructive approaches that place humanity in conflict with nature, sustenance and prosperity are guided by the use of resources in alignment with *Hukam* and *santokh* in harmony with *kudrat* (ecology) rather than in conflict.

Gurmat Principle of the State: Halemi Raj

Halemi raj is necessary to protect society from internal and external conflict.

The *Gurmat*-based principle of the state is known as *Halemi raj*. Its foundation rests upon the principles of *Miri-Piri*, *Panthic dharam yudh*, and the Khalsa as *Akaal Purakh ki fauj*, along with the guiding maxims of *hanne hanne miri*, “*in gareeb sikhan ko deo patshahi*,” and “*dego tego fateh, nusrat bedarang*.”

Halemi raj is characterized by shared existence, dignity, justice, security, and the fulfillment of basic material needs. It operates in harmony with a cosmic, collective coexistence, aligned with the sovereignty bestowed upon creation by Akaal Purakh.

Halemi raj affirms both the temporal and the spiritual; it recognizes Akaal Purakh as the true supreme authority and remains centered in Naam. Accordingly, power is distributed among the people in line with *hanne hanne miri*. Within *Halemi raj*, humans, other living beings, and natural resources exist in balance and coexistence. It is a vision that affirms both shared existence and diversity.

This state is established in accordance with the *Hukam* of Akaal Purakh, not merely due to temporal causes. No form of tyranny can be tolerated; instead, justice prevails for all; vulnerable communities are not abandoned as security is ensured for all; and all people live in well-being with their basic needs fulfilled. The fundamental aim and purpose of the Khalsa is the establishment of *Halemi raj*. Historically, this form of governance has appeared in various manifestations, from the *Khalsa raj* established under Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, to the Misl period of the 18th century, to the *Sirkar-i-Khalsa* in the 19th century, and in recent times through the Khalistan movement. Though known by different names, in essence these are all expressions of the establishment or pursuit of *Halemi raj*.

Sri Akaal Ji Sahai

Waheguru Ji Ka Khalsa ❖ Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh

29 April 2026

